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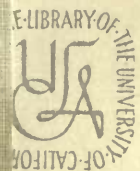
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W. E. Sadler

With the author's kind regards.

THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES
OF BELIEF,

PROPOSED AS THE PROFESSION AND PROGRAMME
OF

CHRISTIAN SOCIALISTS,

BY
ONE OF THEM.

“It is out of the Hell of the Poor that the Paradise of the
Rich is made!”—VICTOR HUGO.

PUBLISHED ON BEHALF OF THE
“CLIFTON AND BRISTOL CHRISTIAN SOCIALISTS,”
BY J. W. ARROWSMITH, QUAY STREET, BRISTOL;
AND SOLD BY SIMPKIN, MARSHALL AND CO., LONDON; AND ALL BOOKSELLERS.

1886.

Price Twopence.

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"The 'kingdom of heaven' is within; but we must also make it without."—FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

"Visions are the creators and feeders of the world."—GEORGE ELIOT.

"Ideals may not be capable of being at once reduced to practice; but there is nothing so truly practical as they are. . . . Ideals present an end which we are not simply to admire, but towards which we are to work. They contain in themselves the seeds of an endless growth. Much of Christianity is in the best sense ideal; and because it is so, it is entitled to the admiration of men now, and will command the allegiance of the best of men until they have a higher ideal (and when will that be?) set before them."—PROFESSOR MILLIGAN.

"It is the duty of scholars and philosophers not to shrink from holding and expressing what men of the world call Quixotic opinions; for, if I read the history of the world rightly, the victory of reason over unreason, and the whole progress of our race, have generally been achieved by such fools as ourselves 'rushing in where angels fear to tread,' till after a time the track becomes beaten, and even angels are no longer afraid."—MAX MÜLLER.

P R E F A C E.

A MORALIST of repute, in laying down rules for the settlement of quarrels (*see* Matthew xviii. 15-17), treats the matter under three successive heads or stages, in which the offending party is confronted severally and in turn with (1) the party aggrieved, by himself, alone; (2) the same, but accompanied by a few friends; and (3) the Community at large to which both the above parties belong.

The present is a case in point. For whereas the "Masses" of this country have for a long time regarded what Mr. Gladstone calls our "Classes" as (however unconsciously and unintentionally) wrong-doers in relation to them; and have, by way of first stage, argued the matter with them by the pens of several writers, reasoning independently, to whose appeals however and remonstrances the offending "Classes" as a whole appear to have paid no attention whatever,—we have now reached the second stage of the quarrel, in which it seems fitting that any champion of the "Masses" should plead their cause no longer unaccompanied, but bringing with him "one or two more," in the shape of some sixty or seventy impartial writers on Social subjects,—most of them belonging in fact to the "Classes,"—in order that in the mouth of these combined witnesses "every word" of his indictment "may be established."

It remains to be seen whether the "Classes" will "hear"

while still there is time, and so our brother be "gained"; or whether, passing to the third stage, we must bring the matter before the Court of Final Appeal, to wit the Nation at large, *i.e.* the Constituencies—with whom lies the power to will "the means," and not merely to set forth the "end,"—which is all that a writer, even when surrounded by a "cloud of witnesses," is able to effect.

As regards the term "Christian Socialist" several points are to be remembered. For one thing, there are "Socialists" and "Socialists": there is the Socialism which Mrs. Aveling desires to have preached as "a thing of death and terror"; and there is another kind of Socialism, truly to be described as "Good tidings of great joy." Of such a "Gospel" we who call ourselves *Christian Socialists* profess to be the preachers! It must not be supposed however that every one who calls himself a "Christian Socialist" professes, in so doing, to be a "Christian" in either the ecclesiastical or the vital and spiritual meaning of that term—"a Christian Socialist" means merely a Socialist within the limits of Christian Morals and Politics—on Christian principles—and employing only Christian methods in the prosecution of his aims. Neither belief nor disbelief in Christ as a Supernatural Being forms any part of our meaning when we apply that name to ourselves as a body, but only a discipular regard for Christ as a teacher, in our judgment, of the highest—the most precious—the most fruitful, Moral and Political truth.

An extraordinary remark about Socialists has quite lately been made by the London *Spectator*, which invites

criticism, and shall receive it in the shape of a direct and unqualified contradiction. According to this authority, "All modern Socialists contend, in one dialect or another—and sometimes the Christian one—that the thing to be mastered is not the body but the circumstances around it." No doubt this is a correct description of Robert Owen and his school; also of any thoroughgoing "Materialists"—if such there be—who combine Socialistic with Materialistic opinions. But to impute such doctrines to "all" Socialists is to predicate of them all without exception that they are "Necessarians" and are of RALPH IRON'S opinion that "we are only the wood, the knife that carves us is the circumstance"! But what if some of us hold undoubtingly and maintain energetically, with e.g. NOVALIS, that "a character is a perfectly-formed *Will*"! What if some of us habitually believe and teach that the mastery of the "body"—nay more, of the whole "natural man"—is a matter of far greater importance to both individuals and communities than any re-arrangement of men's "environment!"—Is however such a conviction on our part any good reason for lugging Religion into a treatise on Polity? or for our making no attempt to lessen men's external temptations, considering the weakness of the wills of most of them, and that there is the same reason for our trying to remove stumbling-blocks from the path of others as there is for our praying on our own account that we may not be "led into temptation"?

E. D. G.

CLIFTON, BRISTOL,
October, 1886.

ARTICLE I.

All men have certain "Natural" and "Moral," as well as "Legal," Rights; and the Natural and Moral rights of some men are often overridden by the Legal rights of others.

Without going so far as to affirm, with VICTOR HUGO, that "Law almost entirely ignores Right," we believe that, besides Legal rights, every man is possessed also of certain "Natural" and "Moral" rights—often not recognised, nay! even overridden and nullified, by Law; so that the "Legal" right of one man comes to involve a "Moral" or "Natural" wrong to another.

ARTICLE II.

Our present Social and Industrial system, the very breath of whose life is "Competition," is both Unjust and Unchristian.

Accepting as we do Mr. J. S. MILL's affirmations (*a*) that "the Social arrangements of Modern Europe commenced from a distribution of property which was the result, not of just partition, or acquisition by industry, but of conquest and violence; and that notwithstanding what Industry has been doing for many centuries to modify the work of Force, the system still retains many and large traces of its origin"; and (*b*) "that it is only through the principle of Competition that Political Economy has any pretension to the character of a Science,"—we believe that the existing Social System, thus founded on Injustice and supported by the Anti-Christian stimulus of Competition, *i.e.* Covetousness, not only is the parent of the present awful contrast between the condition of the few superfluously Rich, and the many miserably Poor, in this and other so-called "Christian" countries, but must always, necessarily and by logical consequence, be productive of such hideous results—hideous equally from a moral and from a material point of view. "I say," says Bijah Mudge, in a book by an American author, "there's something out o' kilter in that commonwealth, and in that country, and in that lot o' human creeturs, and in

them ways o' ruling, and in them ways o' thinking, and in God's world itself, when a man ken spend forty thousand dollars on the plate-glass windows of his house, and I ken work industrious and honest all my life, and be beholden to the State for my poor-'us vittels, when I'm 66 year old." Says Sip Garth, "It aint because they don't care, it's because they don't *know*, nor they don't care enough *to know*!"

ARTICLE III.

Reciprocity—that is Equal service in return for service—is the proper principle of Social union.

We believe, on the contrary, with W. VOLCKMAN, that "Association reveals its own cohesive principle:—the noble law of RECIPROCITY; that this beautiful principle is, or should be, the vital element permeating with life-giving vigour the whole body politic; and that, no matter what the relations of life and society, it never allows itself to be left out of account, but stands by in all its purity and sorrow to make every injustice the more ghastly by comparison. . . . Non-producers in any form may not truly be considered as partners; they are a great disadvantage to the State, contributing nothing to its well-being, while largely absorbing the gains of the active partners."

ARTICLE IV.

It is only through Reciprocity and Co-operation that a true National prosperity is attainable.

We believe that the only sound Political Economy—the only one which in the nature of things is capable of securing a real and generally diffused prosperity to any community—is a system founded on this principle of "Reciprocity," and inspired by the spirit of Co-operation and Brotherly kindness; and while we abjure and repudiate the doctrine, laid down, *e.g.* by F. W. NEWMAN, that "*Our own interest* is the main and rightful moving principle"; and that "the Laws of the Market which individual interest generates are precisely those which tend best to the

universal benefit,"—we maintain and believe, on the contrary, that it is only when the individual takes thought for the public interest as well as, and including, his own, that any community, large or great, is at all likely to prosper.

ARTICLE V.

Humanity is one family—with Common, not Rival, interests.

We believe, with ADAM SMITH, that "what is prudence in the conduct of every private family, can scarcely be folly in that of a great kingdom"; and, with J. S. MILL, we feel bound to acknowledge that, whereas "in a well-constituted community every one would be a gainer by every other person's successful exertions, we now gain by each other's loss and lose by each other's gains; and, whereas the reward of each working man ought to be proportioned to his individual labour and abstinence, it is, as a matter of fact, almost in an inverse ratio to it, those who receive the least labouring and abstaining the most." "Other rules vary," said the late SYDNEY SMITH; "this is the only one you will find without exception,—that in this world the salary or reward is always in the inverse ratio of the duties performed."

ARTICLE VI.

Merit, and the Right to Recompense, are proportioned to Voluntary endeavour and abstinence, rather than to Natural endowment.

While we believe, with M. E. DE LAVELEYE, that "the supreme maxim of justice is: *To every one according to his work*,—so that the well-being of each may be proportioned to the co-operation which he gives to Production";—in interpreting this maxim, we distinguish between the really *meritorious* element in every man which depends upon the direction and energy of his "Will," and that *non-meritorious* element which is measured by the extent of his "Natural Endowments"; and we believe, with J. S. MILL, that "working by the piece," or the principle

of remuneration being proportioned to work done, "is really just, only in so far as the more or less of the work is a matter of choice: when it depends on natural difference of strength or capacity, this principle of remuneration is itself an injustice: it is giving to those who have; assigning most to those who are already most favoured by nature."

ARTICLE VII.

A true Political Economy would aim at demonstrating the fittest, rather than at describing the existing, method of procuring and dealing with National wealth; and would never collide with Ethics.

We believe, with the Rev. W. CUNNINGHAM, that the definition of a true "Political Economy" includes "a reasonable treatment of *the fittest*," and not merely *the existing*, "means of obtaining wealth." A treatise on "Political Economy," which cannot be trusted to furnish wise and wholesome principles for *practical* application, is, in our opinion, as valueless, to make the best of it, as would be a work on the "Theory of Geometry," which, when applied to the practice of "Land Surveying," led only to confusion and mistake. We believe, indeed, that this branch of science is properly inseparable from the kindred branch of "Ethics"; and, with Cardinal MANNING, we maintain that Political Economy sometimes "comes in contact and collision with Moral Laws; and that, when it does, it must be repulsed and cast back."

ARTICLE VIII.

Each new and valuable Discovery or Invention would, under proper arrangements, be followed by unmixed benefit to all; which is far from being the case at present.

Whereas every time-saving and labour-saving machine, and every application of Science to the improvement of industrial processes, might be, and in our opinion ought to be, and under just management would be, a source of unmixed

benefit to all,—we believe, with M. CONSIDERANT, that “there are a thousand facts which prove cumulatively that, in our existing social system, the introduction of any good brings always along with it some evil.”

ARTICLE IX.

“Competition” is the fruitful parent of Division and Strife.

We believe that Competition necessarily leads to antagonism in interest and feeling between class and class in the same community, between individual and individual in the same class, between the Buyer and the Seller, between the Wholesale Dealer and the Retail, and between the Employer and Employed; and that it is responsible for all the evils which attend on “Strikes” and “Lock-outs.” And we further believe, with DAVID SYME, (*a*) that “it is quite a mistake to suppose that Competition invariably tends to reduce prices”; (*b*) that this principle favours men of large capital and natural endowments, rather than those who are less liberally gifted; (*c*) that Absence of Moral Principle becomes, under its régime, a condition favourable to success; (*d*) that it is the chief cause of the widely prevailing Adulteration; and (*e*) that it is in that way largely responsible for our country’s recent loss of custom, especially with her own colonies, and for the consequent Depression of her Trade.

ARTICLE X.

“Competition” has produced more evil than it has good—to the Working class in particular.

We believe, with M. E. DE LAVELEYE, that the Competitive system “produces an incessant agitation, a permanent restlessness, a universal sense of mutability, in which no one is content with his lot, and no one is sure of to-morrow. The rich man desires to accumulate more riches; he who lives by labour trembles for his very livelihood. While economical progress has emancipated artisans from the bonds of trade guilds, has raised their wages, and improved their condition; at the same

time it forms them into a class by themselves, massing them in vast bodies into enormous factories and fixed centres; and while giving them new wants, it has exposed them without protection or security to all the fluctuations of business, so often turned upside down by the revolutions of industry, the crises of trade, and the stagnation of the market."

ARTICLE XI.

Even the extreme of "Communism" were preferable to the present system.

Without professing to go the whole way with "Communists," we share the opinion of J. S. MILL that "if . . . the choice were to be made between Communism with all its chances, and the present state of society with all its sufferings and injustices; if the institution of private property necessarily carried with it as a consequence that the produce of labour should be apportioned as we now see it, almost in an inverse ratio to the labour—the largest portions to those who have never worked at all, the next largest to those whose work is almost nominal, and so in a descending scale, the remuneration dwindling as the work grows harder and more disagreeable, until the most fatiguing and exhaustive bodily labour cannot count with certainty upon being able to earn even the necessaries of life;—if this or Communism were the alternative, all the difficulties, great or small, of Communism would be but as dust in the balance."

ARTICLE XII.

Emigration—unnecessary, in this age of the world, were our Industrial system founded on Justice—ought, if employed now at all—as a means of temporary relief—to be State-aided and Systematised.

While we believe that, under a wise system of Production and a just one of Distribution, there would be, for some time to come, no such pressure of Population upon the means of subsistence, on the part of any class amongst us, as to call for the

application, either of Preventive Malthusian checks—in order to raise and maintain the general “standard of comfort,” or of Emigration—as a remedy for congestion,—we are of opinion that Emigration, if employed at all, should be State-aided; and, instead of its being left in all its details and conditions to the control of chance and personal caprice, should be systematised,—the State providing (1) that only suitable persons, in suitable proportions as regards Age, Sex, and Occupation, be allowed to colonize; and (2) that the necessary preparations and precautions be taken, in the field of enterprise, before the arrival of the new importation, to prevent failure, and—as far as may be—to ensure success.

ARTICLE XIII.

Woman ought to be the Complement, and not the Rival, of Man.

While we are very far from supposing that Woman is inferior to Man, we are of opinion that one of the most unnatural and disastrous results of the action of Competition is the custom, prevailing in this country to some extent already, and daily gaining ground, of Women becoming “Breadwinners,” and so undermining their health, at the same time that they rub the fineness off their inner natures, by following laborious and over-exciting occupations, whether bodily or mental, such as tend to unfit them for the due discharge of the proper duties of their sex. For we believe that Woman is by nature, and is intended to be in function, the *complement*, and not the *copy*, or the *rival*, of Man, and that it is for the interest equally of the present and future generations that her training and occupations, while enabling her to be a true “helpmeet” for Man, should be in harmony with the offices which she is called upon to fill in every healthily-organised community,—as daughter, sister, wife, and mother—the solace and sunshine of her home—the guardian and governess of childhood—and the symbol and representative of the Beautiful—as Man is of the Useful—side of human life. We share, in regard to Women in general, the “ardent hope” which GEORGE ELIOT in her youth expressed about herself in particular; viz., that she “might have given her some woman’s duty—some possibility of devoting herself where she might see

a daily result of pure calm blessedness in the life of another." And with GOETHE we venture to ask: "Where is there any station higher than the ordering of a house? While the husband has to vex himself with outward matters; while he has to gather wealth and to protect it; while perhaps he takes a share in the administration of the State, . . . ruling nothing while he conceives that he is ruling much, . . . a reasonable housewife is *actually* governing in the interior of the family; has the comfort and activity of every person in it to provide for and make possible. . . . It is when a woman has attained this inward mastery, that she truly makes the husband, whom she loves, a master: her attention will acquire all sorts of knowledge for her; her activity will turn them all to profit. Thus is she dependent upon no one; and she procures her husband genuine independence, that which is interior and domestic; whatever he possesses he beholds secured, and what he earns well employed!" Further, we believe, with Dr. WITHERS MOORE, that "excessive work, especially in youth, is ruinous to health, both of mind and body; and excessive brain-work more surely so than any other. From the eagerness of woman's nature, competitive brainwork among gifted girls can hardly but be excessive, especially if the competition be against the superior brain-weight and brain-strength of man. The resulting ruin can be averted—if it be averted at all—only by drawing so largely on the woman's whole capital stock of vital force and energy as to leave a remainder quite inadequate for maternity. . . . The one truism says it all—women are made and meant to be, not men, but mothers of men!"

ARTICLE XIV.

Education ought to be State-paid, Universal, Liberal, and Technical,—besides including a Test—in every lad's case—of aptitude and capacity.

We believe, in regard to "Education," that, with a view to the general welfare, this ought to be universal, gratuitous, liberal, and carried far enough, in an industrial and technical point of view, to provide that each member of the body politic shall become, if he is willing, an efficient worker and co-worker. As WILKIE COLLINS remarks, "The production of a good citizen

represents the most valuable result of a liberal education." Further, we hold that each individual's capacity should be tested by the State beforehand, and his lifework assigned to him in accordance, jointly, with his ascertained ability, and the need at the time, on the part of the State, for workers of the different classes. We think too that each child's Education ought to be Physical and Moral as well as Intellectual and Technical, holding as we do, with HERBERT SPENCER, that "to prepare us for complete living is the function which Education has to discharge," and, with MONTAIGNE, that "it is not a body only, or a mind only, that we have to fashion; it is a man, and we must not divide him in two." With the same author also we believe that "the first teaching with which we ought to imbue a child's mind should be that which is to regulate his morals and feelings; which shall teach him to know himself, and to know how to live and die well." And what, we ask, will do this so well as Essential and Undenominational Christianity,—the knowledge of the sayings and doings of Him who—in the words of the "men of the barricades" (in Paris, 1848)—"first taught fraternity to men"?

ARTICLE XV.

A Community is served by both Manual and Mental work; and Education ought to fit each citizen to take a share in both kinds.

We believe that the interests of any community are served by brain-work as well as muscle-work; but we are also of opinion that, as a general rule, it is better alike for the Individual and for the State that both kinds of service should be united, in due proportion, in each citizen; and we therefore desire that the Course of Training provided for every child should be such as to enable him, when grown up, to take a share of both the manual and the mental labour required by the Community. At the same time—due allowance being made for the Immature, the Aged, and those who are either temporarily or permanently incapacitated for service—we believe that no person ought to be permitted either to live in idleness or to be overworked.

ARTICLE XVI.

The employment of Emulation in Education, while it fails in great measure to attain its end, is prolific of evils—both physical and moral—both immediate and remote, and national not less than personal.

We believe that the prevailing practice of employing the powerful stimulus of “Emulation” as the chief motive power in Education is disastrous in its effects, equally on personal health and character, and on Society at large. While, with A. DE MORGAN, we believe that “the striving one against another for the highest place among boys or young men is among the crudities of an imperfect system, as ineffectual in gaining the end either of *making* the best scholar or *shewing* the best scholar, as its moral tendency is bad”; and, while we hold, with Sir F. POLLOCK, that “the most valuable qualities for practical life cannot be got at by any examination—such as steadiness and perseverance;” we further accept the teaching of Dr. T. CLIFFORD ALLBUTT, that “there is no single agency comparable to competitive examinations for straining and exhausting the brain and nervous system . . . the great increase of nervous affections in children being partly due to the effect of the examinations their fathers underwent in their youth; and that when, as is coming to be the case, *both* parents go through the fire, the result will be frightful. It would be better almost,” as he says, “to return to a state of barbarism; for barbarism has a future before it, but an exhausted people has none.” But we believe that the running of these risks is altogether unnecessary, and that sufficient stimulus to secure as much industry as is consistent with the health of growing youth is within our reach without one having recourse to the whip and spur of “Emulation.” For we are convinced, with J. S. MILL, that “Mankind” [including School-children] “are capable of a far greater amount of public spirit than the present age is accustomed to suppose possible; History bearing witness to the success with which large bodies of human beings may be trained to feel the public interest their own.” As Dr. THRING says, “Glory to the strong! Boys, whet your tusks, rush, rend, tear, win, make yourselves a name, be great!—This is but the Vandal over again, and the swineherd’s call. ‘Glory to the Strong’ is on the reverse side oppression to the weak. The

weak are pushed into the corner and neglected, and their natural tendency to shrink from labour is educated into despair!" Then again the effect of such bringing up upon the dispositions of grown-up men in after life—how it harmonises with "Competition" as the spring of Social life, and how antagonistic it is to all growth of Public Spirit! LAWRENCE OLIPHANT points the moral when he says: "Boys go to school with strict injunctions if possible to put self at the top of it. They take the highest honours at the University purely for the sake of self. How can we expect when they get into Parliament that they should think of anything but self? . . . Who is there that ever tells them that personal ambition is a sin the most hateful in the sight of God, the *first*, and not the last, 'infirmity of noble minds'?"

"Each for himself is still the rule :
We learn it when we go to school—
The Devil take the hindmost, O !
And when the schoolboys grow to men,
In life they learn it o'er again—
The Devil take the hindmost, O !"

A. H. CLOUGH.

ARTICLE XVII.

Leisure is attainable for all (*a*) through the non-production, in future, of demoralising luxuries, and (*b*) by participation in the work of production becoming universal.

We believe, with Sir T. MORE, who wrote 370 years ago, that "a large proportion of our labour and means are expended on trades that are both vain and superfluous, and serve only to support riot and luxury; and that, if those who work were employed only in such things as the conveniences of life require, there would be such an abundance of them that the prices of them would sink; and that, if all that languish out their life in sloth and idleness (every one of whom consumes as much as any two of the men that work) were forced to labour, a small proportion of time would serve for doing all that is either necessary, profitable, or pleasant to mankind, especially while pleasure is kept within its due bounds."

ARTICLE XVIII.

Production ought to be (a) of the Necessaries of life; and (b) of its Comforts and Conveniences—of both sorts enough for all. The balance of the Producers' time to be enjoyed as leisure, rather than devoted to "glutting the market" with superfluities.

We believe, in regard to Production, that the primary aim should be to secure and put within easy purse-reach of all an ample supply of the Necessaries of life; attention being afterwards given to the multiplication and cheapening of all possible sources of comfort and refinement. It has been calculated by W. HOYLE (1873) that owing to the increased application of machinery, the total amount of labour required to provide for our bodily needs would be as follows:—"Food, half-an-hour's labour daily; Clothing, fifteen minutes; Houses, &c., half-an-hour's daily labour."

What a prospect is here opened out of *leisure*—for the cultivation of the mind, the study of nature, the enjoyment of social pleasures, and the discharge of social duties! As Mr. RUSKIN says, "Luxury is indeed possible in the future—innocent and exquisite Luxury for all, and by the help of all"; though never except for a few on the present most inequitable system!

ARTICLE XIX.

All men have an equal right to benefit from the Land; and the accumulation, as at present, of large portions of it in few hands is alike unjust, inexpedient, and positively harmful.

We believe, with J. S. MILL, that, as "no man made the land, and it is the original inheritance of the whole species, so its appropriation is only a question of general expediency." Further, we believe, with Professor BLACKIE, that "much accumulation of land tends to evil, and ought to be watched with a jealous eye by the law, whose business it is, not to pamper the few, but to feed the many." With HERBERT SPENCER too, we believe that "the coheirship of all men to the soil is consistent with the highest civilisation; and, however difficult it

may be to embody that theory in fact, equity sternly commands it to be done." On the other hand, we have learnt from the "New Domesday Book" that, excluding residentiary properties of less than an acre each, there are in this land of 7,000,000 heads of families (reckoning 5 persons to a family) only 200,000 owners of land, representing 1 million out of 35 million, *i.e.* one-thirtyfifth of the population. The remaining thirtyfour-thirtyfifths of the population get no benefit at all, direct or indirect, from the land, except by paying for it. Deducting the "Crown lands," and lands belonging to Public bodies, there is an aggregate of 75 million acres in the country; and of this immense total, more than two-thirds is vested in 5,000 owners; and more than four-fifths in a number of persons so small that, if we include their wives and children in the calculation, they only reach a number about equal to the population of the Isle of Wight!

Will anyone maintain that the services rendered by the owners of these lands and their ancestors are a fair equivalent for the rental accruing from these lands to their landlords—accruing perpetually and perpetually increasing? For, N.B., according to Professor J. E. T. ROGERS, "Rent is fourteen times as great in England now as it was five hundred years ago"!

ARTICLE XX.

The "Unearned Increment" to the value of Land belongs, of right, to the Community, and not to any individual occupier.

In regard to the "Unearned Increment" to the value of land and buildings, we admire, and desire to see realised, the noble sentiment of the poet COWPER, who wrote (1779) as follows:—"If I had ten acres of land in the world, and in those ten acres should discover a gold mine richer than all Mexico and Peru,—when I had reserved a few ounces for my annual supply, I would willingly give the rest to Government. My ambition would be more gratified by annihilating the national incumbrances, than by going daily down to the bottom of a mine, to wallow in my own emolument."

ARTICLE XXI.

Two elements are to be distinguished in the value of every plot of land, viz.:—(1) the “State-right” (including the Natural value and the Unearned Increment); and (2) the “Tenant-right.” While the former ought to be Nationalised, the latter may without injustice be appropriated.

We believe, with J. S. MILL, that “the essential principle of property being to assure to all persons what they have produced by their labour and accumulated by their abstinence, this principle cannot apply to what is not the produce of labour, the raw material of the earth. If the land derived its productive power wholly from nature, and not at all from industry, or *if there were any means of discriminating what is derived from each source*, it not only would not be necessary, but it would be the height of injustice, to let the gift of nature be engrossed by individuals.”

Note.—Mr. ALFRED RUSSEL WALLACE, who was brought up to the profession of Land Surveyor, and practised it for some years in his early manhood, maintains that the “discrimination” suggested above by Mr. MILL is quite feasible; and has indeed based his admirable scheme for the “Nationalisation of the Land” upon this very distinction.”

ARTICLE XXII.

Our present Economical system, however successful it may have been as a Producer of wealth, fails, and has ever failed, most signally as its Distributor.

While we believe that the prevailing system of Economics is well adapted for the production of a very large aggregate of wealth, we are of opinion that it as signally, and necessarily, fails to secure the just distribution of its stores; in other words, we say, with Mr. S. R. LYSAGHT, in “A Modern Ideal,” “God gives wealth to mankind, and the Devil distributes it!” As Mr. J. S. MILL remarks, “the laws of property have made property of things which never ought to be property, and absolute property where only a qualified property ought to exist. They have not held the balance fairly between human beings, but have heaped impediments on some to give advantage to others;

they have purposely fostered inequalities, and prevented all from starting fair in the race." It is true, as GEORGE ELIOT reminds us, that "men after dining well, often argue that the good of life is distributed with wonderful equality"; but, alas for the many who never do "dine well"!—we can hardly expect them to share this optimistic view of our social state.

ARTICLE XXIII.

Capital, the offspring of Labour, becomes too often its oppressor.

We believe it to be incontrovertible and statistically demonstrable that Nearly Half of the whole "Income," and Three-fourths of the whole realised "Property" (fixed and moveable) possessed by the people of the United Kingdom taken all together, are in the hands of so small a proportion of the population as One-fifteenth—this terrible and intolerable state of affairs arising from two causes, viz:—(a) an utterly unjust distribution of the Gifts of Nature, and (b) an equally unjust apportionment of the produce of the joint enterprises of "Labour" and "Capital"—Capital (most of it belonging to "sleeping partners") absorbing the Lion's share of the total produce; and Labour being, at the best, like the "Fox" in the fable, who got but "a small mite" of the spoil, and, at the worst, like the "Ass," who, when he proposed a more equitable division, was "torn to pieces." In truth, as W. MORRIS tells us, "Competition is Bestial, while Association is Human;" and, if we pursue the analogy of a common meal or picnic a little further, and consider how universally it is held in good society to be "bad manners" and ungentlemanly behaviour for one person, or a few, to attempt to monopolise the best dishes for their own private gratification, leaving the rest to fare like "Lazarus,"—and if we then apply this parable to the conduct of the different classes at the banquet spread by Nature for all,—we are forced to the judgment that, in many cases, the conduct of Landlords to their Tenants, of the Employers who try to keep down to starvation point the wages of the Employed, and of all who are trying in all things while buying in the cheapest to sell in the dearest market,—is a far more signal breach of the "manners," which, as William de Wykeham told us so many centuries ago, "makyth man"! And when it

is objected, on behalf of millionaires, that it in no way affects the wellbeing, and especially the trade, of a community whether the income they enjoy is in the hands of a few or many, seeing that through them, the few, it circulates among the many either as loan or as expenditure,—we answer, with A. R. WALLACE, that it makes an enormous difference to the community whether a certain portion of the general wealth, say £50,000, is spent as the income of one man, or contributes a supplementary £100 apiece to the annual incomes of five hundred citizens possessed of only small or moderate means. “In the former case,” as he says, “a considerable portion of the money will usually be spent in pure luxury, such as horses and carriages, jewellery, ornaments, pictures, servants, foreign travel, horse-racing, yachting, entertainments, and expensive dress—all things which give comparatively small direct employment to the great manufacturing industries of the country. In the latter case five hundred families will be raised several degrees in the scale of comfort, which means that more money will be spent by each of them on clothing, household linen, furniture, and the ordinary necessities and comforts of life, which will . . . in the aggregate give an immensely greater support to our home manufactures and general trade.”

ARTICLE XXIV.

The Laws of Nature are the worst possible patterns for Human Legislation.

We believe that it is folly and wickedness to cite the precedent of Nature by way of sanction to Competition; for “Nature,” as E. RENAN says, “is an embodiment of Injustice.” When we are told that “Competition” is a “law of Nature,” and that the “struggle for existence” and the “survival of the fittest” are examples set by Nature and intended for Human following,—we reply, with J. S. MILL, that “the order of Nature, in so far as unmodified by Man, is such as no being, whose attributes are Justice and Benevolence, would have made with the intention that his rational creatures should follow it as an example”; for “in sober truth, nearly all the things which men are hanged or imprisoned for doing to one another are Nature’s everyday performances.” And, further, we believe, with Sir ARTHUR HELPS, that Fortune “makes things uneven *so that men may make them even again*”!

ARTICLE XXV.

While Inequality is the first Law of Nature; the Rectification of Inequalities, natural and artificial, is one of the primary duties of Legislation, and especially the equalisation of men's opportunities, so far as feasible.

We believe, with the late Lord LYTTON, that "throughout all creation—from the archangel to the worm—from Olympus to a pebble—from the radiant and completed planet to the nebula that hardens through ages of mist and slime into the habitable world—the first law of Nature is Inequality;" and we do not believe in the possibility (at least until human nature is fundamentally altered) of ever equalising, or assimilating, either men's capacities or their fortunes; but we believe in the sacred duty of securing, so far as may be, to all men "Equality of Opportunity"; and, further, in the duty of the "Strong," Christlike, "to bear the infirmities of the weak and not to please themselves."

ARTICLE XXVI.

It is both wrong and unnecessary that Poverty should be perpetual; and it is better to remove its causes by "preventive" measures of Justice, than to attempt to "cure" its symptoms by superficial applications of Charity.

We believe, with J. S. MILL, that it is "a base doctrine" that "God has decreed there shall always be poor." Further, we are of opinion that "Almsgiving," however sympathetic and extensive, is, though better than nothing if prudently administered, adapted to remove the superficial symptoms only, and not the deep-lying causes, of the disease called "Poverty." In this, as in other cases, we believe that "*Prevention* is better than *cure*"; and that the true Preventive and Prophylactic against Poverty is to be found, not in the so-called "charity" of Churches, *i.e.* "Systematic Injustice tempered with a little Mercy"; but in the application to Society of the "Charity" of S. Paul and his Master, *i.e.* something *more*, not *less*, than "Justice," viz: a system founded upon "Justice," and with "Mercy" added—to meet and mitigate those sad incidents of human infirmity to which even the

perfection of Justice would be hardship. Under the present system, Poverty is, in myriads of cases, entirely unavoidable, resting upon social causes so deeply founded that no amount of individual abstinence, thrift, temperance, or other virtues, can possibly "find a way to escape" it!

ARTICLE XXVII.

The possession of riches on the part of any man is a suspicious and questionable circumstance, needing explanation; and of which a satisfactory explanation cannot always be furnished.

We believe, with Sir ARTHUR HELPS, that "instead of being anything which is *primâ facie* for a man, it is *primâ facie against* him, that he is rich: it is a fact that he has to account for; and often the account he has to give is anything but creditable to him." And we believe, further, with Professor BLACKIE, that "Rich men who live on the inherited produce of other persons' work, with nothing specially to do for themselves, are a class of men to be pitied rather than to be envied."

ARTICLE XXVIII.

The desire to be Rich is in effect the desire to tyrannise, and is therefore a mean and unmanly ambition; while the desire to be useful and to serve is noble.

We believe, with JAMES HARVEY, of Liverpool, that "the wish, so universally indulged in by the unthinking, that they were possessed of thousands, is really a wish that hundreds of men should be their slaves"; and we believe that this is a mean, ignoble, selfish, and ungenerous wish—unworthy of a Christian, and even of a Man. We believe, on the other hand, with JESUS, *the Carpenter and Salvation preacher*, that "whosoever would be first among us, shall be our servant"; and, with CHARLES KINGSLEY, that "to live for others is the law of all earth and heaven, and Him who made them; and that God is perfectly powerful, because He is perfectly and infinitely of use; and perfectly good, because He delights utterly and always in being

of use ; and that we can become like God only in proportion as we become of use." With J. S. MILL also we believe that "a contest who can do most for the common good is not the kind of Competition that Socialists repudiate."

ARTICLE XXIX.

Being rich—however excusable formerly, when it carried with it corresponding duties—is, when coupled with Idleness, inexcusable—in people who call themselves "Christians," and in the present age.

We believe, with BURNS, that

"The rank is but the guinea's stamp ;
The man's the gold, for all that !"

And, with the Rev. E. A. ABBOT, we believe that whereas in feudal times, when "the first in wealth and power were also the first in the battlefield ; and in the Greek cities, where the rich equipped ships, and gave public exhibitions at their own expense," it was excusable to suppose that "living on his own means" made a man respectable and a gentleman,—“it is inexcusable now, seeing that do-nothings have no place in a Christian nation . . . and that the Christian theory is that every man is what he is by the grace of God, and no one need be ashamed of his work, if his work is useful, and he is an able workman.” (See Appendix, A.)

ARTICLE XXX

The truly respectable man is the Worker—not the Drone.

Like THOMAS CARLYLE, we refuse to believe that the "keeping of a gig," or of a carriage and pair either, proves a man "respectable"; on the other hand, we believe that the worn-out inmate of an Almshouse or a Workhouse has often a far higher claim to honour than a pensioned Duke or Minister of State; in fact, we believe, with Dr. F. MASON, artisan and Christian Missionary, that "it is the Worker—that contributes something to society—who is entitled to an honourable place in it ; while the Drone—the one that contributes nothing to the public good—is the one that ought to be 'out of society.'"

ARTICLE XXXI.

We are "members of one body"; and the primary duty of each is to requite the personal services of others with an amount of personal service at least equal to that which has been rendered him.

We believe that all the individual citizens of each civilised community are, in the language of the Apostle Paul, "many members, but one body"; each unit being largely indebted to the rest for the innumerable services that make life either possible or enjoyable; and as, in the body of flesh and blood, "one member suffering, all the members suffer with it; or one member being honoured, all the members rejoice with it,"—so, we opine, it ought to be in the Body Politic. We believe accordingly, with HERBERT SPENCER, that "in order that any citizen may so behave as not to deduct from the aggregate welfare, it is needful that he shall perform such function, or share of function, as is of value equivalent at least to what he consumes; all further requirements being unimportant compared with this primary requirement, that each shall so live as neither to burden others nor to injure others"; and with ISAAC BARROW, a 17th century divine, we maintain that "he is not a man who is not inclined to make some returns thither whence he hath found great kindness." W. BLACK points the same moral when he writes: "The man who considers himself wholly independent of other people—as owing nothing to them that he cannot pay—is a dastardly repudiator of millions of debts and obligations, not one of which has been paid, or could be paid, to the real creditor. All his life long, he has been saying to person after person, 'I am much obliged to you'; and if he were anything else than a miserable sneak, he would make of these perpetual small obligations a general fund, to be drawn upon when occasion offers."

ARTICLE XXXII.

The larger the income, unearned by himself, that any man enjoys, the heavier is the debt of service he owes Society.

We believe, with JOHN RUSKIN, that "Life without Industry

is Guilt"; with GEORGE ELIOT, that "Industry is one of those dues that it were baseness not to pay towards the common burden"; and with E. ATKINSON (Miss H. Martineau's correspondent) that "the possession of property, commonly called 'wealth,' and spoken of as the standard of a man's 'worth,' fails most ignobly unless it becomes opportunity for broader and more effective work." We believe also, with Professor GOLDWIN SMITH, that "Christianity is a religion of Humanity . . . its social idea is industrial. . . . If any will not work, neither shall he eat. . . . No Christian who knows the Gospel can possibly believe that it warrants him in living uselessly by the sweat of another man's brow." (*See Appendix, B.*)

ARTICLE XXXIII.

All persons who live on Rent, Interest, Dividends, or Profits (as "sleeping" partners), and who meanwhile are rendering no personal service to Society, are, in fact, living "by the sweat of other men's brows."

We believe, further, that all those persons do live "by the sweat of another man's brow," who live, and in proportion as they live, on Rent of Land or House, on Interest arising from Loans, on "Profits"—in the Economical sense, as distinguished from the "Earnings of Management," and on the Dividends accruing from Shares in concerns of any kind in which they are only sleeping partners; and we believe, with WILLIAM GODWIN, in his "Political Justice," that "it is a great imposition that men are accustomed to put upon themselves, when they talk of the property bequeathed by their ancestors—that property being produced by the daily labour of men now in existence."

ARTICLE XXXIV.

Every one who does not earn his livelihood by "Working," is either a "Beggar" or a "Thief."

We believe it to be literally and demonstrably true that there are in reality only three ways of living, viz.:—by "Working," "Begging," and "Stealing"; and that every person who does not live by his own work, past or present, is practically,

and in the real truth of things, either a "beggar"—if his living at the cost of others is *legalised* (as in the case of those who live on "Rent," "Dividends," or "Interest"), or a "thief"—in case the mode in which he gets his livelihood is a violation of the law. Accordingly we believe, with Dr. THRING, that "it is a mean thing to live on alms and do nothing; be the alms a princely fortune inherited, or a beggar's crust; both are equally the stored-up life of other men. And no man has a right to take the stored-up life of others, and pour it out in folly and idleness. . . . WORK CAN ONLY BE REPAID BY WORK." This last sentence deserves to be published in golden letters through the world. Money, by whomsoever tendered, is commonly supposed to be a fair exchange for personal service or the produce of personal toil. But it is not so in truth! Money *which has been earned by personal service* is indeed a real *quid pro quo*—a fair exchange; but "money" tendered to society by an *Idler* in exchange for personal service—money which neither he, nor any one for him, ever earned by work, is a "stone" instead of "bread," a "scorpion" in place of a "fish"—a Bill payable in "Work," and drawn on Society by a merchant possessed of "no effects" of corresponding value. The money which a worker of any sort receives in payment for his work is of course paid him in requital of some "service" which he has rendered to some one. In return for such service he might have fairly claimed from his employer a modicum of service of value equal to that which he has himself rendered; but he accepts instead a certain sum of money (paper or metallic), such "money" being, as it were, a "Promissory Note," or a "Bill of Exchange" drawn on "Society," and payable at *any* future date by any partner of the bank so named (*i.e.* by anybody) in the shape of whatever amount of "service" (or "commodities" representing "service") is at that time deemed equivalent to the "service" he originally rendered. His title to this quantum of service holds good for ever; it is an equitable claim for "service in return for service"—a fair exchange. There can, in fact, be no morally higher title—no juster claim! And the claim represented by the coin or note in question remains undiminished in strength and value by any lapse of time since first it came into being, and equally by the death of the original claimant;—his heirs and assigns having the same right exactly, neither more nor less, as he had, to the cashing of the "Bill" in "service." They stand in his shoes, and his merits, like "works of supererogation," are transmitted in full measure to them. Nor does

the magnitude of such a claim make any difference in its validity. We quarrel not with either "fortune" or "capital" because they happen to be large, if they have been justly earned, and represent a true "value received";—and if, further, it can be shewn that the original "services" which they professedly represent have really never yet been recompensed to any one. But neither "Interest" nor "Rent of Land" answers to this description. The "principal," or *corpus*, of a just man's just savings under a just Social system, and the "Interest" accruing in what form soever from them, stand, in our opinion, upon altogether different moral footings; and because a man has an indefeasible right in equity to the one, it does not follow that he has any right at all to the other! (*See Appendix, C.*)

ARTICLE XXXV.

Perpetual Annuities payable to private persons in the shape of "Inherited Incomes"—whencesoever accruing—are too heavy a price for Posterity—in the shape of the whole Community—to pay for the service, if any, rendered by the said individuals' energetic ancestors.

We believe, with the Rev. W. CUNNINGHAM, that, though "doubtless in many cases the nation was the gainer by the energy of those who pushed their business so as to make fortunes for their families, the permanent charge on the nation which is involved in supporting their posterity is a terribly heavy price to pay for the benefit that has accrued through the enterprise of forgotten capitalists"; and that, comparing "the economic methods of Capitalism and Socialism, that method is to be approved, as it will certainly survive, which gives facilities for the raising of the greatest amount *by all*, so as to satisfy the wants of each." "Private Property," as J. S. MILL says, "is in every defence of it supposed to mean, the guarantee to individuals of the fruits of their own labour and abstinence. The guarantee to them of the fruits of the labour and abstinence of others, transmitted to them without any merit or exertion of their own, is not of the essence of the institution, but a mere incidental consequence, which, when it reaches a certain height, does not promote, but conflicts with, the ends which render private property legitimate."

ARTICLE XXXVI.

Industry and Merit are the only legitimate roads to a Competence.

To Bishop BERKELEY's 218th "Query," put above 150 years ago:—"Whether a door ought not to be shut against all other methods of growing rich, save only by industry and merit?—and whether wealth got otherwise would not be ruinous to the public?"—we unhesitatingly reply, "Yes!" Such not only "would be," but has been, and ever will be, the result; and the proposed "door" of exclusion ought to be as soon as possible set up, shut tight, and double-locked!

ARTICLE XXXVII.

All "Interest" on Loans—at however low the rate—is "Usury," in the Biblical sense of the word; and when exacted for private gain, and enforced by Law, tends both to Public and Private ruin.

As regards Interest on Loans, we believe, with W. H. LECKY (on "Rationalism"), that the word "Usury, according to the unanimous teaching of the old theologians, consisted of any interest that was exacted by the lender from the borrower solely as the price of the loan. Its nature was, therefore, entirely independent of the amount that was asked, and of the civil laws upon the subject. Those who lent money at 3 per cent. were committing Usury quite as really as those who lent it at 40 per cent.; and those who lent money at interest in a country where there was no law upon the subject, as those who lent it in defiance of the most stringent prohibitions." And further, we believe with the learned Bishop JEWELL (who died above three centuries ago, and on whose writings so high a value was set that copies of them, as of Bibles, were chained up to reading-desks in many churches, where they may be found so attached, in some instances, to this day),—in reference to this custom,—that "it is a monster in nature; the overthrow of mighty kingdoms; the destruction of flourishing states; the decay of wealthy cities; the plague of the world, and the misery of the people." Despite Mr. NASSAU SENIOR's claim, that "Interest is the remuneration of abstinence," we do not believe that "abstinence," *i.e.* the mere postponement of immediate

enjoyment from the present to the future, is an act of such heroic virtue on the part of the abstainer as to demand that he should be "remunerated" for it—at the cost of the lifeblood of others! No doubt, as A. BESANT reminds us, "wherever there is Capital there has been labour, and there has also been abstinence from consumption. But, in studying the origin and the accumulation of Capital, this remarkable historical fact stares us in the face—that Capital is not found in the hands of the laborious and abstemious, but is obtained by a process of confiscation of the results of labour and the imposition of privation on the laborious." No doubt, if X borrows from Y a sum of money in the hope of making profit out of it, Y may fairly expect to be insured at the cost of X against the loss of the loan; and further, if he can show that, but for this loan to X, it was his intention to turn that money to profit on his own account,—he may even claim, in equity, some share of the profit made by X. But this is far from being the meaning of "Interest" in general; what "Interest" usually means being, that the Borrower's "necessity" is made the Lender's "opportunity"—for screwing as much as possible out of him, even if the Lender's risk of loss be infinitesimal, and his sacrifice of opportunity be nil! We believe, however, that most of the evils attendant on the existing "Interest" system would disappear if only the Law, instead of forbidding, or in any way regulating, contracts of that sort, would simply ignore them, regarding all claims of Interest as debts of honour, altogether irrecoverable by legal process.

ARTICLE XXXVIII.

The needless multiplication, as in England, of shops and shopkeepers, for the distribution of the produce of labour, is greatly to be deprecated, as the cause equally of an enormous waste of Labour, and of a proportionate augmentation of Cost.

We believe that the necessary work of Distributing the produce of labour through the country is far from requiring that England should be, to the extent it is, "a nation of shopkeepers,"—being of opinion, with Dr. T. L. NICHOLS, that "this entire work could be done by one-tenth of the number now employed, and at one-twentieth of the cost, with better articles, and a freedom from fraud and adulteration."

ARTICLE XXXIX.

Titles of Honour ought never to pass from Parent to Child; and Bequests, as well as property left by Intestates, ought all to be subject to examination, and (so far as Justice and the interests of the Community may require) to modification, by the State.

We believe that no man has the right to do wrong; and we say "No!" to the question propounded by a recent Duke of Newcastle: "May I not do as I like with my own?" We believe indeed that very much wrong is done as regards the distribution of property—particularly after death. On this subject, we are of opinion, with Professor BLACKIE, that, so far from a man being entitled by the law of Nature to make a Will so as to have it respected after his death, "the stage is clear when he is gone; and, whatever his wish and preference while alive may have been, the survivors have rights to assert, above which the desire of a departed person can have no call to despotize; and further, we share MATTHEW ARNOLD's "wish for the extinction of *Title* (after the death of each present holder) and for the dispersion of *property* by a stringent *Law of Bequests*." At present, we recognise, with JOHN MACDONELL, that "we are an ancestor-ridden people. In regard to the disposition of the land," [*we should not limit the proposition thus!*] "forefathers bully us, and dead men rule us from their graves. Each generation takes its seat at the banquet of life with equal rights to all with which Nature has spread the board; none may take his seat twice, and none may be excluded. So says Reason; but the custom of our country speaks differently: We may dispose of but half the courses; of the other half former generations have disposed, saying who shall eat this and who shall drink that." Such a state of affairs cannot possibly last for ever; we believe that it cannot, and we desire that it may not, last for long! While "Christian" feeling would lead us to show great respect to the feelings and rights—the merely "legal" rights—of those *living* persons who, unknown to themselves, and with the full sanction of the law, have become possessors of what are really "stolen goods,"—our sense and conscience as "Socialists" oblige us, on the other hand, to bring to light and vindicate, with all our power of reason and of protest, those "natural" and "moral" rights of the oppressed and deserving masses, which have been so long obscured; and

to resolve and endeavour that, if possible, to the Unborn, if not to the Living, shall rise a "Sun of righteousness with Healing on his wings"! "Accustomed enjoyments, and reasonable expectations," as A. R. WALLACE says, "must not be interfered with. But no such rule applies to the *unborn*. They have neither expectations nor proprietary rights; and they may be justly disregarded when their supposed rights are opposed to the general well-being of the community."

APPENDIX.

A.—The *Spectator*, arguing against Socialism, shrewdly and truly remarks that "there is not a sentence in the Gospels implying that robbery of the rich is more moral than robbery of the poor." We admit it. But what is "robbery"? And is that term really applicable to our aims as Socialists? We admit, of course, that the Rich are *legally* entitled to their wealth whether land or money, and that to strip them of any part of it by illegal means would be an act of "robbery" in a legal, if not in a moral, sense. But we as Christian Socialists do not propose to employ "illegal" means; nor "legal" means either, to do what is morally wrong; but only *legal means to do what is morally right*. Is it then "morally right" by even legal means to deprive the Rich of any part of their possessions? Certainly not on the mere ground that they are "Rich." But if it can be shown that any man, whether Rich or Poor, holds legal possession of aught to which he has no moral right, and to which some other has a moral right, we think we are justified in using legal means to rectify such wrong. Now we believe (1) that no one man has a moral right to a larger share, in the first instance, of Nature's gifts than any other man; (2) that no one man has a moral right to a better start in life—to better opportunities of prospering, so far as this depends on social arrangements—than any other man; and we believe, further, that most of the wealth of wealthy men is due to their having enjoyed either more than their proper share of Nature's raw materials, or a better start in life than their compeers. And so believing, we do not think it wrong to try to substitute a juster system for the one which has permitted—nay, encouraged—these injustices.

B.—Mr. Goldwin Smith—*clarum et venerabile nomen*!—has recently (1886) published a little book entitled "False Hopes; or Fallacies, Socialistic and Semi-Socialistic, briefly answered." "False" indeed proved the "Hopes" which the sight of the author's name excited in at least one reader's breast! And as to the "Fallacies"—they are so numerous that it is quite impossible for them to be "briefly answered," else they should be answered here!

C.—It is the author's intention to publish almost immediately a new edition of a tract entitled "Society Classified; or How far is the Saying True that Everyone lives either by Working, or by Begging, or by Stealing?"—in which the question of an Idler's "money-payment" being, or not being, a true economical, and a just, equivalent for the "personal service rendered him," is thoroughly sifted.

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